4:Grajdanzev--v S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-1-2
116, 121, 127

"This study of the Japanese colony of Formosa or Taiwan is based almost entirely on Japanese official sources, the exceptions being very few and explicitly mentioned. This reliance on Japanese sources may be explained by the fact that few foreigners have visited the island and fewer still have written about it. But even in the Japanese language comprehensive studies of Formosa are rather exceptional.

Those who have read something about Formosa may be astonished at some of the author's conclusions. They may remember the idyllic conditions pictured by the Japanese administration or its spokesmen in English publications. They may remember a picture of a prosperous and progressing island, the population of which is happy under the benevolent colonial administration. If progress consists in building roads, railways, harbors, radio stations, irrigation works, primary schools and hospitals, there is such progress in Formosa, and this book abounds in proofs of such progress. But the author has been interested not only in this question but even more in the question of how the Formosan people have fared under its rulers? At the time of annexation—45 years ago—Formosa was economically on about the same level as Japan. Japan was just emerging from her medieval state and was predominantly an agricultural country. Her agricultural technique at that time was hardly above that which prevailed in Formosa. Insofar as land was more abundant in the colony, its population was probably better off than that of Japan. What has happened in these last 45 years? How did the islanders fare in their political and cultural development? Had they any chance to perfect their culture enriched by contact with

the Japanese? Have they any semblance of political freedom or any opportunities to advance? If they are not masters of their own fate politically, do they control their own economic life? If the answers to these questions are of a discouraging character, it is not because of the author's attitude but because of the facts revealed in the Japanese reports.

The best known example of a colonial regime is probably that of British India. In the Western world British policy in India evoked much criticism. Yet conditions in British India cannot even be compared with those in Formosa. The Indian people can organize; they use their own languages in middle schools and even in the Universities; they publish their own newspapers and books in their own languages; they have their own political groups and parties, their voice and their criticism are heard in the provincial assemblies; certain important industries of India are now in the hands of Indians. However limited all these rights and the opportunities to use them may be in India, they are infinitely greater than those of the people of Formosa.

The author expresses his deepest gratitude to Mr. W. L. Holland, Mr. Joseph Phillips, and Mr. Alexander Stevenson for their editorial help and criticism of the manuscript, though this does not mean, of course, that they necessarily share the views and interpretations of the author."

New York City October, 1941 A. J. Grajdanzev

4: Grajdanzev--1 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 101, 121

"Taiwan, or Formosa is a Japanese island near the Chinese province of Fukien and the northern Philippine island of Luzon with a population of six million. One may wonder what are the reasons for a better acquaintance with a relatively small island lost in the Western Pacific, forming a very small part of the Japanese yen-bloc area. Readers may be expected to be interested in broad problems or in problems concerning large areas but not in a small island or a local Japanese problem. However there are important reasons for a better knowledge of Taiwan."

4: Grajdanzev--1-2 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-1-2
116, 113, 121

"Previous to Japan's occupation in 1895 Taiwan was a Chinese island, and after 45 years its population is still predominantly Chinese. What have the Japanese accomplished during this period? How has the Chinese population fared under foreign rule? Japan now promises China a new era of 'co-existence and co-prosperity.' What forms have co-existence and co-prosperity taken in Taiwan? Of course, all historical analogies have an important defect: new factors may intervene to alter the course of events. This however, does not render analogies completely useless, but demands only a more precise analysis of their respective actual bases. In the case of Taiwan we have a quite recent experiment. In both occupied China and Taiwan the masters are Japanese and the servants Chinese. What are the reasons for expecting that in conquered China the Japanese will behave worse or better than they behave now in Taiwan? [2]

The part assigned by her Japanese rulers to Taiwan in their plans for penetration into Southeast Asia is extremely important, and a knowledge of Taiwan is necessary for an appreciation of these plans.

Despite the significance of Taiwan, both as an example of Japanese rule and for its own sake, scarcely a work of importance has appeared in English since 1907, when a translation of a book by Yosaburo Takekoshi (1) was published. Previous to that time interest

1. Japanese Rule in Formosa, London, 1907.

116, 113, 121

in Taiwan among the Powers resulted in a number of works out of all proportion to the island's importance. But since that time only a few travellers' stories of the type of 'Glimpses from Japan and Formosa' and 'Scrambles in Japan and Formosa' have appeared. This island, however small and remote, nevertheless has an external trade surpassing that of either Yugoslavia, Indo-China, or Turkey and thus certainly deserves closer attention."

9; Yamasaki--221 [4] N-5 (1896-1897) 1900 Formosans
116, 121

For five months, and starting from Kilung, we went round the greater part of the island, constantly pushing into the interior from various parts of the coast, as the red line on the accompanying map shows. [MC: see next slip for adaptation of map. For full scale map in color see source: page 298, plate 19] Only once, on the eastern side of Taiwan, did our paths separate, Professor Kotō starting from Pinan and following the longitudinal valley of the Pinan, Shūkoran and Karenkō rivers to the mouth at the locality called Karenkō, while I reached this place along the precipitous coast. In this way we got to know the western plain, the mountainous country between it and the central mountain chain, the rushing upper course of the Dakusuikei, the largest river on the island, the southern point of the island, a considerable part of the east coast and various regions inhabited by natives. Finally we made our way back by steamer from Karenkō to Kilung and on to Tokyo.

9: Yamasaki--298 N-5 (1896-1897) 1900 Formosans
116, 102, 121

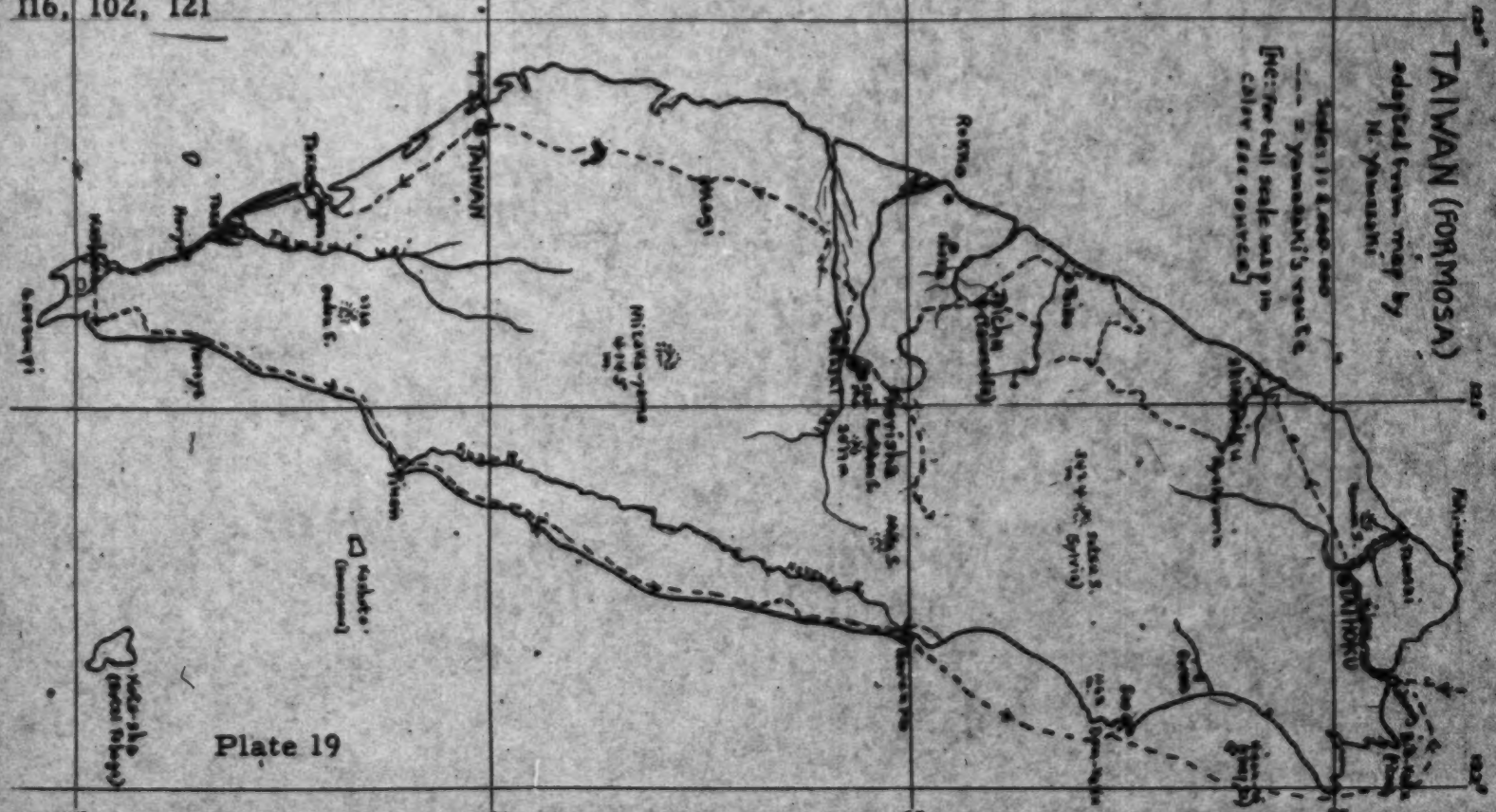

Plate 19

37: Steere--318-319 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosans
116, 121

"The map used in traveling was one made by General Legendre, who was formerly United States consul for Amoy and Formosa. The only means of telling distance was the Chinese report and our own fatigue, and the only method we had of telling the direction traveled was by a pocket compass. [319]

General Legendre's map seems to be very correct when he had the opportunity of personal observation; outside of this, as might be expected, when dependence has to be placed on Chinese data, there is little reliance to be put upon it. The arrangement of the mountain ranges appears to be imaginary."

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We construed our function of preliminary reconnaissance as involving a general appraisal of the population problems of the region; assessment of the information available for analysis; discussion with, and evaluation of, the people interested in population problems, and exploration with serious students in each country of feasible approaches to solutions.

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The survey was made primarily in the interests of The Rockefeller Foundation and the full report submitted to the Foundation included recommendations for its consideration in connection with the policy and program of that organization. By courtesy of the Foundation, the present slightly abridged version is made available privately as a possible service to scholars, officials and others concerned with these problems.

The observations, assessments and analyses herein contained are made on the individual responsibility of the members of the group and they do not necessarily represent in any way the view or judgment of The Rockefeller Foundation.

This report is written on the basis of information acquired in the field or available to us in the United States on or before October, 1949. Names of places are those current at the time of our visit. Finally, we wish to express our gratitude to the many people who assisted our work with unfailing generosity in the midst of difficult and often momentous times. We have found it possible to include only a partial list of their names in the Appendix. To them and to many unnamed colleagues here and in the field go our heartfelt thanks. For all errors of fact, interpretation and judgment we take full responsibility.

MCB
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New York, March, 1950

[p. 2]

48: Chen E-4 (no date) 1968 ADI Formosa ADI

POPULATION GROWTH AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN TAIWAN

CHEN SHAO-HSING

The original title of this paper was "Population Change and Social Change in Taiwan". Owing to the limitation of space, it had to be divided into two parts. With the consent of the author, the first part is being printed under the above title; the part on population change will be printed in next number.—Editor.

I. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

1. *Significance of the Study of Taiwan's Population.*

As universally admitted, the population problem is one of the most important problems of the present world. Since one fifth of the world population is Chinese, the study of Chinese population is an urgent task. But, sorry to say, we still have no population census, and though there are some population statistics, all are fragmentary and only for a short period of time. Because of these circumstances, "Taiwan is the only place where it is possible to study the processes of change of a Chinese population over a substantial period of time on the basis of excellent data" (Notestein's preface to G. W. Barclay's Colonial Development and Population in Taiwan, p. v. See No. 1 of the main references enumerated on the last page of this paper. Hereafter, the quotation will be abbreviated as follows, 1: p. v.). The study of Taiwan's population will tell us how a part of Chinese population has changed under a specific set of circumstances, and thus enable us to estimate the potential population change in China. This is the reason why the several millions of people on this little island are worthy of our consideration.

2. *Characteristics of the Data of Taiwan's Population.*

In order to promote an effective colonial administration, the Japanese started complete surveys of land and population in the early years of their occupation of Taiwan. During the half century of Japanese occupation (1895–1945), there were population figures of the whole island for 48 years from 1896 to 1943. The statistics from 1905 to 1943, that is from the year when the first census was taken to two years before the Japanese surrender, are especially trustworthy, judged by G. W. Barclay as "complete" and "correct", and Taiwan's statistical system was "a paragon even among those of the technologically advanced nations in the world" (1: p. 145, p. 164). For administrative reference, the population of Taiwan was registered according to different ethnic stocks, and by this we can trace the change of a part of the Chinese population under certain specific circumstance. The subject of this paper is not to treat the population of Taiwan as a whole, but to analyze how a part of Chinese population has changed in

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 AD1 Formosa AD1

Introduction

TAIWAN, or "Formosa," as the island is still widely known to Westerners, has been the scene of international contention as long as it has had a recorded history. From its discovery by curious Chinese and Japanese before 1600 down to the present time, the island has repeatedly been visited, occupied and fought over. No one can claim that Taiwan has failed to receive its full share of attention by the outside world. The people of the island would be the last to make this complaint, for, while opinions may differ as to whether the intrusions have been beneficial to the population, it is certain that they have not been welcome.

But for people who have long felt the disadvantages of being small and weak with large and powerful neighbors, the inhabitants of Taiwan have in some respects fared remarkably well. They avoided, through hardly more than chance, the domination by Western nations that has called forth great bitterness and aroused quixotic nationalism in many parts of Asia. They fell under the control of Japan at a time when that country was willing to invest strong efforts in developing Taiwan's productive resources. So far they have emerged from the war that destroyed the Japanese Empire without suffering the mass bloodshed or wide devastation that followed the regular military operations elsewhere in the Far East. And, ironically, during the fifty years of "exploitation" and "oppression" by Japan, they enjoyed more peace and prosperity than their former countrymen on the mainland of China.

As the aftermath of these events Taiwan has acquired a status that is uneasy and insecure, poised again as a prize desired by rival powers. It is not the purpose of this book to trace the sequence of steps leading up to this situation, or to speculate about the future international status of the island. Because prominence has not come to them of their own seeking, the Taiwanese have usually played a passive part in shaping their position in world affairs. Knowledge of the island's external relations therefore does not offer much in understanding the social order of its people, and information about the internal structure of the society fails to contribute anything of great value in appreciating its present international position.

For similar reasons, this book will not be concerned with the prospects for the island under the present Chinese Nationalist govern-

52:Barclay S-5 (no date)1954 AD1 Formosa AD1

ment, since they are likewise closely allied to international developments that have not yet taken place.[1] This present era of Taiwan's history has just begun; discussion of its future in these terms necessarily rests on conjecture and may have little to do with the facts that are known about the population. The half-century of colonial rule, on the other hand, is over, and most of the facts are in. Hence this is the phase that can be investigated to the best purpose, for it can serve as an instructive example of its type in other places.

It is a well-documented case. There is no lack of thoughtful research on the island during this period. While under Japanese rule Taiwan probably had the distinction of being the most thoroughly inventoried colonial area in the world. Huge compilations of statistics and numerous special surveys were made from year to year. The economy, the terrain, the aboriginal tribes, the mineral wealth, the agricultural output, the industrial production and the foreign trade have all been studied and restudied until there is little to be added to this knowledge unless new evidence is uncovered that is not now available.[2]

Strangely enough, with all this interest in finding out about the island, there were very few attempts to study the social institutions and cultural patterns of the people, and the attention devoted to these matters has been scanty and perfunctory. Yet the numerical data relating to the population are the best of all, since their collection was most directly linked to the very effective system of control imposed by the Japanese. The largest task required of this investigation has been to test and evaluate these unknown source materials, and to introduce them into the Western literature. They comprise one of the most ample and creditable records for a population of this size that has ever been at the disposal of demographers, and the only systematic set of data for a portion of the Chinese population.

This is not to say that the subject of Taiwan's population has been entirely neglected. Nearly every published work about Taiwan, especially since 1945, has included a section on the people of the island.

[1] There is growing literature on Taiwan dealing with its political status. See, for example, Riggs, F. W. (1952), Ravenholt, A. (1952), Bate, H. M. (1952).

[2] Some of this material has already appeared in the form of special studies. See Yanaihara, Tadao (1929), Grajdanzev, A. J. (1942), Ch'en Cheng-hsiang (1950), Taiwan Keizai Nempo (1941). For a study of the characteristics of Taiwan's population, see Ch'en Cheng-hsiang and Tuan Chi-hsien (1951). The most useful single compilation of statistics is the *Statistical Summary of Taiwan for the Past 51 Years* (Taipei, 1946), which will be referred to hereafter simply as *Statistical Summary*.

52:Barclay S-5 (no date)1954 AD1 Formosa AD1

Such discussion is often confined, however, to establishing *how many* of them there are, and frequently begins and ends with the premise that there are "too many." This issue lies afield from the topics that we propose to consider—a population could not attain its present size, flourish or decline, or even remain in existence were it not for the complex societal arrangements that have made these things possible. Population thus could not become a "problem" by itself, but is a fruitful way of viewing problems in these other spheres. These, along with trends in the numbers of people, are the subject matter of this study, and the succeeding pages are an endeavor to discover what Taiwan's demographic data can be made to reveal about the nature of the society.

The following plan of procedure has been adopted. We shall first describe how Taiwan came to be settled, and take note of the growth of its population, for these are features which mark it off at the outset as a special type of case and furnish clues as to what else one should expect to find. We shall then turn to examine the aims and policies of Japanese colonial development and their consequences for the population. It is not proposed to dwell on what is commonly treated as the "economic" side of this colonial program, such as the spread of the Japanese banking system, the corporate structure of their industry, the expansion of output, construction of factories, or contribution to the "welfare" of the population. A catalog of these direct achievements gives but a very superficial idea of their most interesting aspect—the form in which these innovations were communicated to the Taiwanese.

It will appear that participation in this program on the part of Taiwanese was impeded by barriers at nearly every point, and that they felt its effect on their livelihood and their customs only by indirection. Some of the reasons for the cleavage between these two groups are to be found in the restrictive measures of the Japanese, and some in the stability of Taiwanese social institutions. Evidence of this stability will be shown in the economic activities of the people, their immobility, the persistence of certain mortality patterns, and the organization of marriage and family affairs. These various aspects of Taiwanese life will also be drawn upon to see how and where minor social changes tended to be fitted into this agrarian system. Finally, we shall assess one overshadowing result of this social stability, the steady high fertility of the Taiwanese.

Throughout, of course, much of the interest in the Taiwanese as

52:Barclay S-5 (no date)1954 AD1 Formosa AD1

the island and set out to discover the responsibilities and rewards of colonial administration.

Japan embarked on this first colonial venture without having at the outset any very clear idea of what use to make of it. The first few years were taken up in consolidating their control over the population and in deciding what to do with the island. As their experiment progressed, the Japanese began to introduce some profound and subtle changes. Their objectives became clarified, and their policies toward Taiwanese more firm. Gradually they evolved a system of managing affairs in Taiwan that developed into one of the most successful colonial programs in the world. As long as they remained, Taiwan repaid them handsomely for their initial investment of care and expense.

Some of the more important aspects of this program will be discussed in subsequent chapters. Here it is appropriate to establish what were broadly the consequences in terms of population trends, and to discover what sorts of information about Taiwan's people can be gained from the records of this administration. The Japanese rationalized certain parts of Taiwan's agriculture, so that the island produced a substantial surplus of farm commodities each year. They established a strong and efficient government, the first that the island ever had. With a shrewd combination of police force and political guile, they imposed strict public order and penetrated every town and village with a structure of organized control.

They constructed excellent facilities for transportation and communication where there had been none before, founded modern business institutions and commercial centers, promoted some industrial processing of the island's products, rebuilt the major cities, and stamped out the principal epidemic diseases. In short, they transformed Taiwan from a "backward" and neglected land into a thriving region that could regularly export a large share of its agricultural produce. This was a success that would satisfy most of the countries striving for modernization today.

All these material accomplishments of the Japanese in Taiwan are well known. With some justifiable pride, they publicized this side of their rule and compiled an imposing set of statistics to document it. What we propose here is to examine the human side of these developments and to appraise some of its consequences in the

52:Barclay S-5 (no date)1954 ADl Formosa ADl

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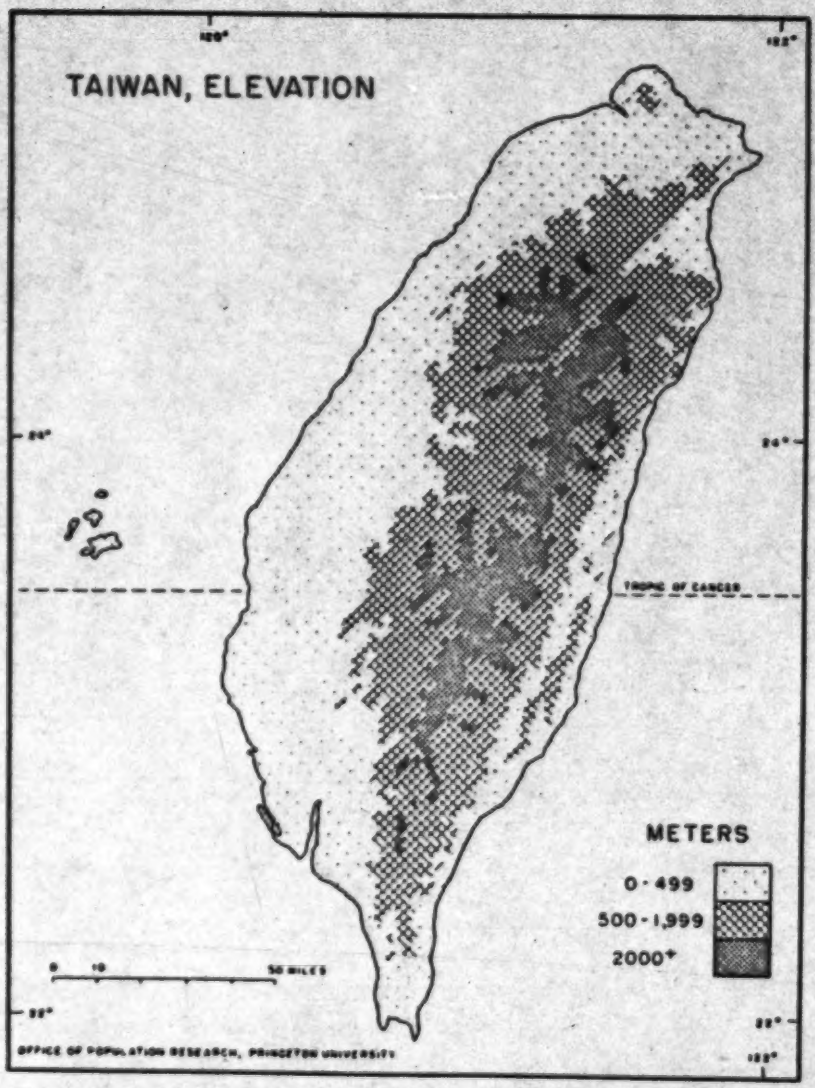

Fig. 1. Topography of Taiwan. (Adapted from Taiwan Provincial Government, Department of Communications, *A Map of the Main Roads of Taiwan*, February, 1950.)

121 lives of the population. This aspect of Taiwan's history, and of "economic development" in general, receives a surprisingly small share of attention as compared with questions of technological advance.

52:Barclay S-5 (no date)1954 AD1 Formosa AD1

CHAPTER IV

The Disposition of Manpower

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THE human side of livelihood in the countries of Asia understandably attracts serious attention. For many years both Westerners and Asians have displayed increasing interest in the tedium of work in this portion of the world. Human labor under these conditions has variously been held the object of pity for its drudgery, praise for its industriousness, impatience for its low productivity, and admiration for the contentment it sometimes fosters and for its integration with cultural traditions.

Such impressions are not always a help in gaining a disinterested and factual grasp of the problem. They often are based on sentiment or feeling more than on actuality. Few of the commentators on the lot of the Asian peasant have ever come into contact with it at first hand, which may help to account for the diversity of views on the subject. Yet underlying all of them is a certain foundation of fact. No one will deny that work in these parts of the world is normally toilsome and arduous. It is, by our standards, conducted with such a lack of advantage from effective instruments that prodigious amounts of labor must be expended simply to keep alive. In addition, as compared with industrial societies, a person's usual work is more firmly imbedded in the social position that he occupies, which in turn may bear less relation to the income that he gains or the commodity that he produces.

121

No single project could properly cover all of these aspects of livelihood. For Taiwan the advantages of the data that exist lie in adopting a demographic view of work and discovering how laboring activities are distributed through the population. This approach does not enable us to answer all of the questions that usually arise about economic activities and their setting, but we can move from it to a more adequate conception of the connections between livelihood and the social structure. This point of view was introduced in the previous chapter in order to fill out the one-sided picture that resulted from taking Japanese policy at face value and surveying the economy through its specialized corporate structures. Since the body of facts to be covered was large, the evidence of the occupational statistics has up to this point been treated cursorily.

52:Barclay S-5 (no date)1954 AD1 Formosa AD1

THE DISPOSITION OF MANPOWER

121 Economic activity is usually approached in demographic analysis by drawing attention first to the portion of a population that is involved. This group may be designated as manpower, or, more ambitiously, as the "labor force." It consists of those persons whom the influence of customary rules, the demand for labor in the economy, and expectations of others have induced to work for a living. In this chapter we shall take up some problems of determining the nature and size of this group in a population such as that of Taiwan, and to discover in greater detail some of the patterns that existed in its composition. Since this inquiry is also a means to observe the institutional environment of work, we shall be concerned only with the people whose society is reflected in these patterns, the Taiwanese.

The Nature of the Labor Force

By itself, the statement that the labor force is supposed to include people who work as distinct from others is not very useful. It is like knowing that humankind is composed of good- and bad-tempered persons—neither proposition gives any basis for assigning people to one class or the other. To classify a universe of individuals by any such principle requires a set of criteria for judging what activities should count as "work," and what degree of performance is necessary to qualify a person as being fully employed.

The first problem in specifying these criteria is a conceptual one: what purpose is the distinction intended to serve? This purpose may be to ascertain the usual state of affairs in a society where conditions of livelihood are relatively stable. One can expect that most of the population holds some employment status that is recognized in well-established usage. In this class the census procedure most likely to succeed is one that elicits a statement of the activities most commonly engaged in, according to this usage. Placing many arbitrary barriers in the way of such a response, like special rules for weighing levels of wages or exact units of working time, probably does not make the answers more precise. Such considerations may even obstruct the purpose by calling for facts that are irrelevant to the situation.[1]

On the other hand, the classification may be designed as a basis for estimating the volume of employment at a particular time (or of "unemployment," in the sense of people not working who would if they could), mobility between different types of labor, or short-term

[1] cf. United Nations, Population Division and Statistical Office. *Studies of Census Methods*, No. 4 (1948), pp. 14-38.

52:Barclay S-5 (no date)1954 AD1 Formosa AD1

fluctuations in employment. If employment is to be regarded in this way, it needs a set of criteria that are more complex, more sensitive to particular circumstances, and better oriented to the activities of people at a given moment.

Census Procedures in Taiwan for Determining the Working Population

Even if the conceptual questions can be settled, there remains a group of procedural ones. Since information which might be used to measure the size of the labor force must cover the entire population, it is ordinarily secured as part of a general census enumeration. Consequently most of the issues in collecting such materials are encountered in connection with census administration, and they have usually been dealt with by official organs charged with managing a census. Until very recently, it has been in this procedural realm that most attention has been given to labor force measurement—how to establish definitions, etc.

In actual experience, some of these criteria of working status have always been incorporated into census data that are already collected and published. They are beyond the control of the persons who make use of the materials, who are as a rule not the same ones who gathered and compiled them. Most of them must be accepted as they are, save for slight alterations (like shifting or combining certain categories) which may or may not aid in comparing data from different sources. Often the best that can be done is to scrutinize carefully the standards that were used in any given instance, and to make whatever allowance is possible for peculiarities that may exist from case to case.

In Taiwan, where census practices in Japan were followed,[2] the first of the two concepts of employment was used with little variation from census to census. Some specific entry as to "principal occupation" or customary activity was required of each individual. This left it up to each person or household head to decide whether he held an occupation; if so, he was supposed to specify the usual activities that he actually performed, as distinct from the part of the economy in which the work was carried on.[3] The information was compiled

[2] The enumerations of 1905 and 1915 in Taiwan had been planned likewise to synchronize with Japan in every major respect, but were carried out actually without the intended counterparts in Japan Proper.

[3] That is, in the current census usage of the terms, the enumerations were "occupational" rather than "industrial." The compilation of occupational titles before 1930,

1;Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1
China AF1

[1

Introduction

This book, primarily a study of a Hokkien Chinese agricultural community on the west-central coastal plain of Taiwan, is based on a field study carried on during sixteen months of actual residence in Hsin Hsing village. It is more than simply an ethnographic description, however, since it also provides a picture of the changing life of the Chinese peasant, at least in one area of the island.

Taiwan provides an especially unique opportunity for the study of the nature of Chinese culture change and its dynamics. In a relatively brief span of years it has evolved from a traditional, premodern society to an emerging urban-industrial society. As more and more scholars have come to realize, the essential material for the study of this dynamic process is available there for analysis.

At the same time, until fieldwork can be carried on again on the Chinese mainland, research in Taiwan is perhaps the closest one can come to studying a Chinese cultural group living in a Chinese context. This has unfortunately been the case since Western scholars were virtually halted in their firsthand ethnographic research on the mainland of China when the Communists assumed power in 1949. The several studies published before and since then, ranging in type from J. L. Buck's (1930, 1937) detailed land-utilization and farm family surveys to the anthropological and sociological community study type (see bibliography), are of scattered areas dotting the great Chinese land mass. For the extremely important area of southeastern China, Fukien and Kwangtung, where most of the Taiwanese came from, only three published Western language studies exist—those of Kulp (1925), Lin (1947), and C. K. Yang (1959). Other than some scattered general studies (discussed briefly in Chapter 2) and a number of brief works dealing with highly specific subjects, this book, which combines ethnography with detailed analysis, is the first of its kind to be made available for Taiwan.

Culturally, Taiwan has been and still is a part of China. Before the influx of Chinese between 1945 and 1949, immigration from the south-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Formosa AD1

121 167 177 178 eastern part of the mainland to Taiwan had been going on for several hundred years, beginning in the 1600's and virtually ending about 1900 when it was almost completely stopped by the Japanese regime. Throughout the early period and even after the Japanese occupation and administration of the island, the traditional Chinese culture brought over from southeastern China was maintained with little major change.

648 179 178 During the Japanese occupation of Taiwan, except for the period just before and during World War II when they attempted to Japanize the island, the government tried deliberately to inhibit fundamental changes in the Chinese culture.[1] As George Barclay (1954b:52) has pointed out, during most of their occupation it was advantageous to Japanese colonialism to maintain the Chinese social and economic order which already existed in Taiwan. It was by means of the traditional Chinese system, which facilitated the maintenance of social control, that Japan was best able to function as a colonial power and to derive the greatest advantage from this area, which soon became an integral economic part of the Japanese empire. Because of this policy of maintaining and utilizing the existing Chinese social and economic system, the fifty years of Japanese rule had limited direct effect on much of the traditional social life of the Taiwanese. This was especially true of the rural agricultural areas of Taiwan, where direct contact with the Japanese was infrequent and where the Japanese had, therefore, limited influence on the cultural level of life. Some superficial changes—religious forms, for example—were in later years forced on the Taiwanese rural people by the Japanese, but they were quickly dropped when Chinese rule was restored at the end of World War II. Today, unlike the situation in the urban centers of Taiwan where Japanese cultural influence was much stronger and is still evident, only few Japanese-introduced traits can be observed in rural Taiwan, and the people attach little importance to them.

However, during the later years of the Japanese period and especially during most of these past two decades under the Nationalist Chinese, the socioeconomic impact on the whole Taiwanese population has been significant. The combination of relatively efficient government, orderliness of life, and public health measures, together with an extensive system of communications on a relatively small island has greatly facilitated rapid population increase on a stable land base and a rapidly increasing growth of urban centers.

[744] [20] [161] [369]

Out of these developments, the most significant changes for the rural population have been the extension of village contacts and involvement with urban centers far beyond the immediate village area, and, with this an increased spread of urban influences or at least their effects into the rural villages. These increasingly significant extensions

369 [167]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1 •
People's Republic of China AF18

F 369 167

have taken the form of the villagers' increased involvement in the greater market economy, the necessary migration of more and more villagers to the expanding cities with their newly developing economic opportunities, and, of course, the increased impingement of the government on the rural areas.

I 121 172 178

In this study of a peasant community, I will describe and analyze the manner in which the Taiwanese agricultural villager is being transformed from a peasant primarily involved in a basically subsistence type of agriculture to one who is becoming more and more involved in the market economy of the country and who has widespread contacts with an urban way of life. I will show how such developments are interrelated with and have increasingly effected certain changes in village social organization, community and kinship solidarity, and some of the general patterns of village life. However, we will also see that the cultural and social changes have been weighty in some areas of life and scant in others.

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These changes in the Taiwanese village are perhaps far less dramatic and less drastic than those which the Chinese Communists are now attempting to institute among the Chinese peasants on the mainland, where in the past social change was relatively slow due to its massive size, poor system of communications, and lack of an effective centralized government organization. In order to achieve a strong Communist state, the Chinese Communists are consciously attempting to accelerate the process of urbanization, breaking down the traditional large kinship-group oriented rural society and the provincialism of the entire Chinese population. They hold that a single-class Communist society can be achieved only through the total transformation of the agrarian population, dominated by a peasant mentality, into an agrarian proletariat with a national and social consciousness. The commune system has perhaps been one technique used to speed the urbanization process and to develop an "urban mentality" by transforming the thought processes of a large agrarian segment of the population through education, mass organizations, and group cooperation as well as by changing its standard of living. It is unfortunate that we are unable to observe this changing phenomenon on the mainland today, because we are undoubtedly missing much which would greatly contribute to our understanding of the process of change in such a complex society. There are, of course, qualitative and quantitative differences between the mainland and Taiwan, much as there are differences between various areas of the mainland. Nevertheless, by observing and analyzing the nature of culture change in Taiwan, we may not only be able to understand the changing Taiwanese situation but may also gain insights into the nature and development of Chinese culture and society generally and, perhaps also, by analogy derive

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some insights into what is now taking place on the Chinese mainland. For many of the changes now taking place both in Taiwan and on the mainland are primarily due to the same cause—the encroachment of urbanization on a traditionally agrarian culture, whether enforced by the Japanese, the Nationalist Chinese, or the Chinese Communists.

FIELD METHODS AND PROBLEMS

In the selection of a research site, I looked for a Taiwanese village with several attributes. These were that the inhabitants be of mainland origin, preferably descendants of early emigrants from the province of Fukien; that the village have agriculture as its primary means of livelihood; that it have a moderate-sized population, preferably between five hundred and one thousand inhabitants, to facilitate the achievement of familiarity with most of the people and with all aspects of village cultural life; that it be fairly traditional both culturally and socially and as typical as possible of the general villages in that area; and that housing be available inside the village for me, my wife, and our interpreter. It was also important that the village not be too near a major city, and yet not be geographically or culturally isolated from the main flow of Taiwanese life; it had to be identifiable as a definite community.

And, of course, it was important that the villagers be receptive to having a foreign observer move into the village.

It is no easy task to search for a village in which to carry on research in an unfamiliar country. The island of Taiwan, which on the map appears to be minute, is actually 250 miles long from north to south and 90 miles wide; it has an area of 13.8 thousand square miles.

At the start of my search, I talked with the staff of the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (JCRR), a Chinese and American agency which plays an important role in rural development in Taiwan. They briefed me on the cultural and geographic areas of rural Taiwan, and we decided that the *hsien* (counties) of Chang-hua, Taichung, and Yun Lin (all on the west-central coastal plain of Taiwan) offered the best possibilities for a suitable village. The next step was to travel by jeep within this area with JCRR field agents to visit many different kinds of villages and make a final choice. The interpreter, whom I hired at that time to live and work with my wife and me in the village, was a companion on these excursions. (For a discussion of translation methods and the use of the interpreter in the field see Appendix I.)

During the time we were investigating the many villages, we also visited local Farmers' Associations and *hsiang* (district) public offices. We held many long discussions with local officials to get additional